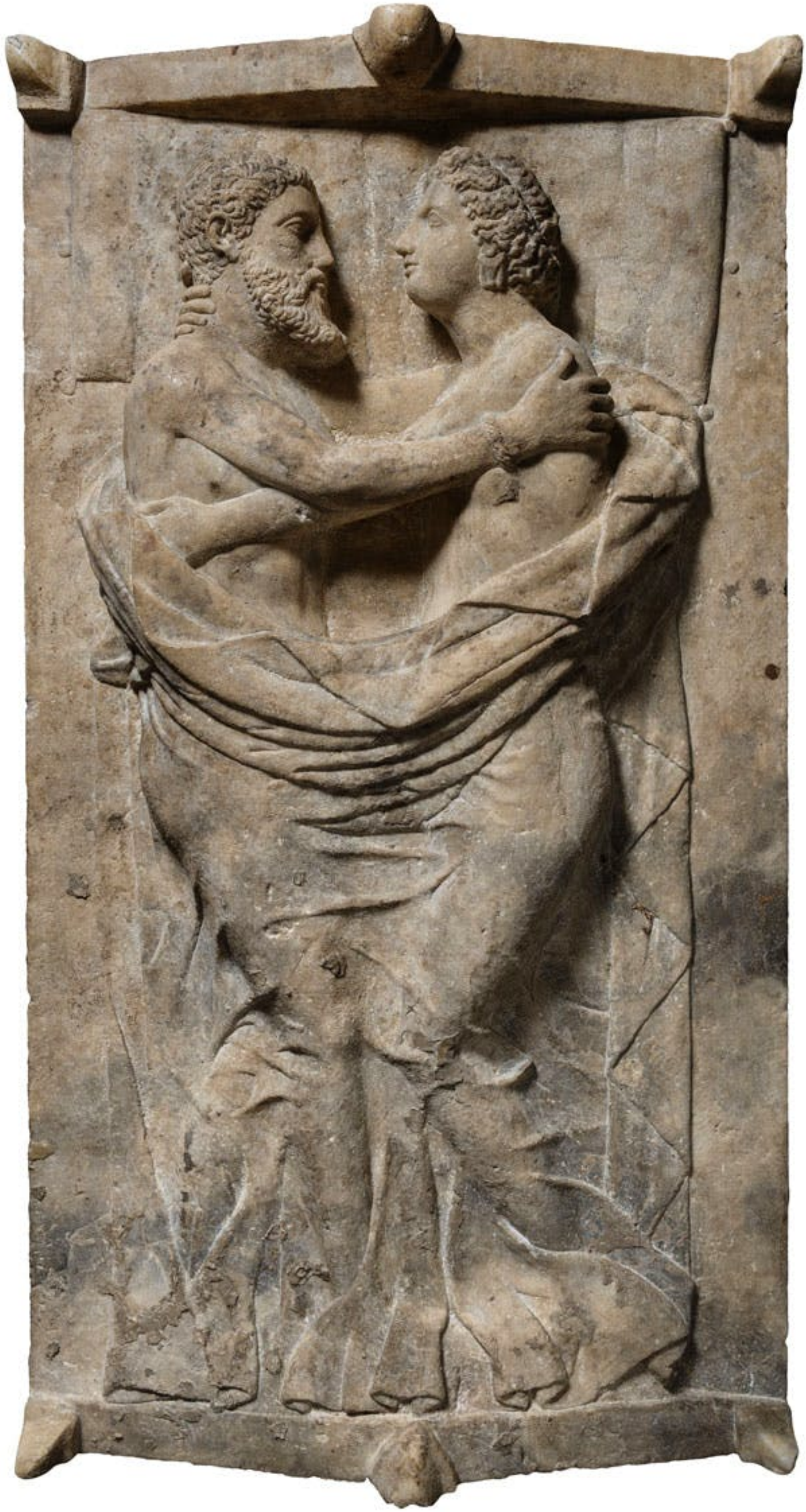


NOTE.

The indisputable fact that nearly all Lessing's works owe their existence to some personal impetus has gained him the undesirable reputation of being a kind of philosophical Ishmaelite. But this is not absolutely the case. Lessing did not attack his contemporaries for the pure pleasure of aggression, but because as Heine so well expresses it "he was the living critique of his period." Polemics were his delight in so far as he hoped to rectify what was erroneous and hence when he saw himself or others unjustly attacked, he at once flew to his pen. But it was not fighting for fighting's sake, but for the sake of what he held to be the truth. After the publication of the 'Laokoon,' a certain Klotz, Professor of the University of Halle, published a very unwarrantable attack upon its accuracy and scholarship, and among other matters, he accused Lessing of having been guilty of "an unpardonable fault." Such an accusation from such a quarter highly exasperated Lessing, who was moreover in an irritable state at the time, owing to the failure of his scheme with the Hamburg theatre. This induced him to write his 'Antiquarian Letters,' which were true polemics, but it also led him to write his little essay 'How the Ancients represented Death,' which he was

very desirous should not be confounded with the circumstances that gave it birth, though it had also been prompted by a remark of Klotz's. Klotz had averred, in reply to Lessing's assertion in a note of the 'Laokoon' that the ancients never represented death as a skeleton, that they constantly thus represented it and referred to figures of skeletons found on gems and reliefs. Klotz had here confounded two distinct ideas, and Lessing, attracted by the theme, wrote this short essay to prove his theory. The result was that his idea of the genius with a reversed torch as a personification of death was eagerly accepted by his contemporaries, who were glad to banish the grinning skeleton of Christian and mediæval art. Goethe in 'Wahrheit und Dichtung' expresses the joy with which the essay was greeted. A few archæologists differed from Lessing in his interpretation of Pausanias, concerning the crossing of the feet, among them Heyne suggested that "bent outwardly" may be intended in lieu of "crossed," but agreed with Lessing that "crooked" could never have been meant. Such philological niceties do not detract from the excellence of the whole, and this little investigation has become a classic among Lessing's works, praised even by Goeze in the very midst of their bitter feud.

HOW THE ANCIENTS REPRESENTED DEATH.

Part of a SARCOPHAGUS. (From Bellori, see p. 183.)
"Nullique ea tristis imago."[1]—STATIUS.

PREFACE.

I SHOULD be sorry if this disquisition were to be estimated according to the circumstance that gave it occasion. This is so despicable, that only the manner in which I have used it can excuse me for having used it at all.

[1] Theb. 10, 105: "And to none does this shape seem sorrowful"

Not indeed that I do not consider our present public to be too delicately averse to all that is called polemics, or resembles it. It seems as though it wished to forget that it owes the elucidation of many an important point to mere contradiction, and that mankind would be of one mind on no subject in the world if they had as yet never wrangled about anything.

"Wrangled," for so politeness names all discussion. Wrangling has become something so unmannerly that we must be less ashamed of hatred and calumny than of controversy.

If however the greater part of the public, which will not hear of controversial writings, consisted of authors, then it might perhaps be something else than mere politeness that was intolerant of a polemical tone. It is so displeasing to egotism and self-conceit! It is so dangerous to the surreptitious reputation!

And truth, they say, so rarely gains thereby.—So rarely? Granted that as yet truth has been established through no contest; yet nevertheless truth has gained by every controversy. Controversies have stimulated the spirit of investigation, have kept prejudice and authority in constant convulsion; in brief, have hindered gilded untruth from taking root in the place of truth.

Neither can I share the opinion that controversies are only demanded by the most important truths. Importance is a relative idea, and what is very unimportant in one respect may become very important in another. As a constituent of our cognition one truth is therefore as important as another; and whoever is indifferent in the most trifling matter to truth and untruth, will never persuade me that he loves truth merely for the sake of truth.

I will not impose my way of thinking concerning this matter on any one. But I may at least beg him who differs from me most widely, if he intends to speak publicly of this investigation, to forget that it is aimed at any one. Let him enter upon the subject and keep silence concerning the personages. To which of these the art critic is most inclined, which he holds in general to be the best writer, nobody demands to know from him. All that is desired to learn from him is this, whether he, on his part,

has aught to place in the scale of the one or the other which in the present instance would turn, or further weight the scales. Only such extra weight, frankly accorded, makes him that which he wishes to be; but he must not fancy that his mere bold enunciation would be such an extra weight. If he be the man who overtops us both, let him seize the opportunity to instruct us both.

Of the irregularity which he will soon perceive in my work, he may say what likes him best. If only he does not let the subject be prejudiced thereby. I might certainly have set to work more systematically; I might have placed my reasons in a more advantageous light; I might still have used this or that rare or precious book; indeed what might I not have done!

It is moreover only on long-known monuments of ancient art on which I have been enabled to lay the foundations of my investigation. Treasures of this kind are daily brought to light, and I myself should wish to be among those who can first satiate their thirst for knowledge. But it would be singular if only he should be deemed rich who possesses the most newly minted money. It is rather the part of prudence not to have too much to do with this before its true value has been established beyond question.

The antiquarian who, to prove a new assertion, refers us to an ancient work of art that only he knows, that he has first discovered, may be a very honest man, and it would be sad for research if this were not the case with seven-eighths of the confraternity. But he, who grounds his assertion only on that which a Boissard or Pighius has seen a hundred or more years before him, can positively be no cheat, and to discover something new in the old, is at least as laudable, as to confirm the old through the new.

GEM. (From Licetus, see p. 200.)

THE CAUSE.

HERR KLOTZ always thinks he is at my heels. But always when I turn to look after him at his call, I see him wandering in a cloud of dust, quite at one side on a road that I have never trodden. "Herr Lessing," so runs his latest call of this nature,[1] "will permit me to assign to his assertion that the ancient artists did not represent death as a skeleton ('Laokoon,' ch. xi. note,) the same value as to his two other propositions, that the ancients never represented a fury, or a hovering figure without wings. He cannot even persuade himself that the recumbent bronze skeleton which rests with one arm on a cinerary urn in the Ducal Gallery at Florence, is a real antique. Perhaps he would be more easily persuaded, if he looked at the engraved gems on which a complete skeleton is portrayed (see Buonarotti, 'Oss. sopr. alc. Vetri,' t. xxxviii. 3, and Lippert's 'Daktyliothek,' 2nd 1000, n. 998). In the Museum Florentinum this skeleton to which an old man

[1] In the preface to the second part of Caylus's treatises. [For the controverted statements in 'Laokoon,' see above, pp. 15 *note* and 51 *note* 1, 65 *note* 3, and especially 73, *note* 1.]

in a sitting attitude is playing something on the flute is likewise to be seen on a gem. (See 'Les Satires de Perse, par Sinner,' p. 30.) But engraved stones belong to allegory, Herr Lessing will say. Well then I refer him to the metallic skeleton in the Kircherian Museum (see 'Ficoroni Gemmas antiq. rarior.' t. viii.). If he is not yet satisfied, I will over and above remind him that Herr Winckelmann, in his 'Essay on Allegory,' p. 81, has already taken notice of two ancient marble urns in Rome on which skeletons stand. If my numerous examples are not tedious to Herr Lessing, I will still add 'Sponii Miscell. Antiq. Erud.' sect. i. art. III., especially No. 5. And since I have once taken the liberty to note some things against him, I must refer him to the splendid collection of painted vases possessed by Mr. Hamilton, to show him another fury on a vase (Collection of Etruscan, Grecian, and Roman antiquities from the cabinet of the Hon. Wm. Hamilton, No. 6)."

It is, by Heaven, a great liberty, forsooth, to contradict me! And whoever contradicts me must I suppose be very careful whether he is tedious to me or no!

Unquestionably a contradiction such as Herr Klotz charges me with, is enough at any rate, to put the coolest, calmest man out of temper. If I say "it is not yet night," then Herr Klotz says, "but it is long past noon." If I say "seven and seven do not make fifteen," then he says, "but seven and eight do make fifteen." And this is what he calls contradicting me, confuting me, convicting me of unpardonable errors.

I beg of him for one moment to have rather more recourse to his understanding than to his memory.

I have asserted that the ancient artists did not represent Death as a skeleton, and I assert it still. But is to say that the ancient artists did not represent Death as a skeleton the same thing as saying that they never represented a skeleton at all? Is there absolutely no difference between these two sentences, so that he who proves the one must needs prove the other? that he who denies the one must needs deny the other?

Here is an engraved gem, and a marble urn, and there a brazen image; all are undoubtedly antique, and all

represent a skeleton. Very good. Who does not know this? Who can help knowing this if there is nothing amiss with his fingers and eyes, as soon as he wishes to know it? Must antique works of art be always construed allegorically?

These antique works of art represent skeletons; but do these skeletons represent Death? Must a skeleton of necessity represent Death, the personified abstraction of Death, the deity of Death? Why should not a skeleton simply represent a skeleton? Why not even something else?

INQUIRY.

Herr Klotz's acumen goes far! I need not answer him more, but yet I will do more than I need. Since some other scholars more or less share Herr Klotz's perverse idea, I will establish two things for their benefit.

Firstly: that the ancient artists really represented Death, the deity of Death, under quite another image than that of a skeleton.

Secondly: that the ancient artists, when they represented a skeleton, meant by this skeleton something quite different from Death as the deity of Death.

I. The ancient artists did not portray Death as a skeleton, for they portrayed him according to the Homeric idea,[1] as the twin brother of Sleep, and represented both Death and Sleep, with that likeness between them which we naturally expect in twins. On a chest of cedarwood in the temple of Juno at Elis, they both rested as boys in the arms of Night. Only the one was white, the other black; the one slept, the other seemed to sleep; both with their feet crossed.[2]

Here I will invoke a principle to which, probably, very few exceptions will be found, namely this, that the ancients faithfully retained the sensuous representation which had once been given to an ideal being. For even though such representations are arbitrary, and every one has an equal right to conceive them thus or thus, yet the ancients held

[1] Il. xvi. 681, 2. [2] Pausanias, Eliac. cap. xviii p. 422.

it good and needful that the late comers should waive this right and follow the first inventor. The cause is clear: without this general uniformity no general recognition is possible.

Consequently this resemblance of Death to Sleep, once accepted by the Greek artists, will, according to all likelihood, have been always observed by them. It showed itself indubitably on the statues which these two beings had at Lacedæmon, for they reminded Pausanias[3] of Homer's representation of them as brothers.

Now what most distant resemblance with Sleep can be conceived, if Death stood beside him as a mere skeleton?

"Perhaps," writes Winckelmann,[4] "Death was thus portrayed by the inhabitants of Gades, the modern Cadiz, who among all peoples were the only one who worshipped Death."

Now Winckelmann had not the faintest reason for this "perhaps." Philostratus[5] only says of the Gaditani "that they were the only people who sang pæans to Death." He does not even name a statue, not to mention that he gives us no reason whatever to presume that this statue represented a skeleton. Finally, what has the representation of the Gaditani to do with the matter? It is a question of the symbolical pictures of the Greeks, not of those of the barbarians.

I observe, by the way, that I cannot concur with Winckelmann in rendering the words of Philostratus, *τὸν θάνατον μόνοι ἀνθρώπων παιανίζονται*, as "the Gaditani were among all peoples the only one who worshipped Death." *Worshipped* says too little for the Gaditani, and denies too much of the other peoples. Even among the Greeks Death was not wholly unreverenced. The peculiarity of the Gaditani was only this, that they held the deity of Death to be accessible to entreaty, that they believed that they could by sacrifices and pæans mollify his rigour and delay his decrees. For pæans mean in their special sense, songs sung to a deity to avert some evil. Philostratus seems to refer to the passage in Æschylus, where it is

[3] Laconic. cap. xix. p. 253. [4] Allego. p. 83.
[5] Vita Apoll. lib. v. c. 4.

said of Death, that he is the only one among the gods who regards no gifts and hence has no altars, to whom no pæans are sung:

Οὐδ' ἔστι βωμὸς, οὐδὲ παιωνίζεται.

Winckelmann himself mentions in his 'Essay on Allegory' regarding Sleep,[6] that on a gravestone in the Palazzo Albani, Sleep is represented as a young genius resting on a reversed torch, beside his brother Death, "and just so represented these two genii may be found on a cinerary urn in the Collegio Clementino in Rome." I wish he had recollected this representation when dealing with Death itself. Then we should not miss the only genuine and general representation of Death where he furnishes us only with various allegories of various modes of dying.

We might also wish that Winckelmann had described the two monuments somewhat more precisely. But he says very little about them, and this little is not as definite as it might be. Sleep leans upon a reversed torch; but does Death do so too? and exactly in the same way? Is there not any distinction between both genii? and what is it? I do not know that these monuments have been much known elsewhere where one might find an answer for oneself.

However they are, happily, not unique of their kind. Winckelmann did not notice anything on them that was not noticeable on others that had been known long before him. He saw a young genius with a reversed torch and the distinct superscription *Somno;* but on a gravestone in Boissard[7] we see the same figure, and the inscription *Somno Orestilia Filia* leaves us as little in doubt as to its meaning. It often occurs in the same place without inscription, indeed on more than one gravestone and sarcophagus it occurs in duplicate.[8] Now what in this exactly similar duplication can the other more fitly be than the twin-brother of Sleep, Death, if the one be a picture of Sleep?

It is surprising that archæologists should not know this, or if they knew it should forget to apply it in

[6] p. 76. [7] Topograph. parte iii. p. 48. [8] Parte v. pp. 22, 23.

their expositions. I will only give a few examples of this.

Before all others I remember the marble sarcophagus which Bellori made known in his 'Admiranda,'[9] and has explained as relating to the last fate of man. Here is shown among other things a winged youth who stands in a pensive attitude beside a corpse, his left foot crossing his right, his right hand and his head resting on a reversed torch supported on the breast of the corpse, and in his left hand which grasps the torch, he holds a wreath with a butterfly.[10] This figure, says Bellori, is Amor, who is extinguishing the torch, that is to say the affections, on the breast of the dead man. And I say, this figure is Death.

Not every winged boy or youth need be an Amor. Amor and the swarm of his brothers had this formation in common with various spiritual beings. How many of the race of genii were represented as boys?[11] And what had not its genius? Every place, every man, every social connexion of mankind, every occupation of men from the lowest to the highest,[12] yes I might say, every inanimate thing, whose preservation was of consequence, had its genius. If this had not been a wholly unknown matter, to Herr Klotz among others also, he would surely not have spared us the greater part of his sugary story of Amor on engraved gems.[13] With the most attentive fingers this great scholar searched for this pretty little god through all engraved books, and wherever he only saw a little naked boy, there he cried: Amor! Amor! and registered him quickly in his catalogue. I wish him much patience who will scrutinize these Klotzian Amors. At each moment he will have to eject one from the ranks. But of this elsewhere.

Enough that not every winged boy or youth must necessarily be an Amor; for then this one on the monument of Bellori need least of all be so.

And absolutely cannot so be! For no allegorical figure

[9] Tab. lxxix. [10] [See illustration, p. 175.]
[11] Barthius ad Kutilii lib. i. v. 327, p. 121. [12] *Ibid.* p. 128.
[13] Über den Nutzen und Gebr. der alt. geschnitt. St. pp. 194-224.

may be contradictory to itself. This however an Amor would be whose work it is to extinguish the affections in the breast of man. Such an Amor is just on this account no Amor.

Rather everything that is about and on this winged youth speaks in favour of the figure of Death.

For if it had only been proved of Sleep that the ancients represented him as a young genius with wings, this alone would sufficiently justify us in presuming the same of his twin brother, Death. "Somni idolum senile fingitur." Barth wrote in a happy-go-lucky way[14] to justify his punctuation of a passage in Statius:

> "Crimine quo merui, juvenis placidissime divûm,
> Quove errore miser, donis ut solus egerem
> Somne tuis?——"

the poet implored Sleep, and Barth would have that the poet said *juvenis* of himself, not of Sleep.

> "Crimine quo merui juvenis, placidissime divûm," &c.

So be it, because at a pinch so it might be, but the reason is nevertheless quite futile. Sleep was a youthful deity with all poets, he loved one of the Graces, and Juno, in return for an important service, gave him this Grace to wife. And yet artists are declared to have represented him as an old man? That could not be credited of them, even if the contrary were no longer visible on any monument.

But not only Sleep, as we see, but another Sleep, that can be no other than Death, is to be beheld on the less known monuments of Winckelmann, and on those more familiar of Boissard, as a young genius with reversed torch. If Death is a young genius there, why could not also a young genius be Death here? And must he not so be, since, besides the reversed torch, all his other attributes are the most beautiful, most eloquent attributes of Death?

What can more distinctly indicate the end of life than an extinguished, reversed torch? If it is Sleep, this short interruption to life, who here rests on such a torch, with how much greater right may not Death do so?

[14] Ad Statium, Silv. v. 4.

The wings too are even more fitly his than Sleep's. His assault is even more sudden, his passage more rapid.

"——Seu me tranquilla Senectus
Expectat, seu Mors atris circumvolat alis"

—says Horace.[15]

And the wreath in his left hand? It is the mortuary garland. All corpses were wreathed among the Greeks and Romans; wreaths were strewn upon the corpse by surviving friends; the funeral pile, urn and monument were decked with wreaths.[16]

Finally, the butterfly above this wreath? Who does not know that a butterfly is the emblem of the soul, and especially of the departed soul?

To this must be added the entire position of the figure, beside a corpse and leaning upon this corpse. What deity, what higher being could and might take this position, save Death himself? A dead body, according to the idea of the ancients, polluted all that approached it, and not only the mortals who touched it or did but behold it, but even the gods themselves. The sight of a corpse was absolutely forbidden to all of them.

——ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ θέμις φθιτοὺς ὁρᾶν

Euripides[17] makes Diana say to the dying Hippolytus. Yes, to avoid this spectacle they had to withdraw as soon as the dying man drew his last breath. For Diana continues thus:

οὐδ' ὄμμα χραίνειν θανασίμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς·
ὁρῶ δὲ σ' ἤδη τοῦδε πλησίον κακοῦ·

—and therewith departs from her favourite. For the same reason Apollo says in the same poet[18] that he must now depart from the cherished abode of Admetus because Alkestis nears her end.

ἐγώ δε, μὴ μίασμά μ' ἐν δόμοις κίχῃ,
λείπω μελάθρων τῶνδε φιλτάτην στέγην.

[15] Lib. ii. Sat. i. v. 57, 58.
[16] Car. Paschalii Coronarum, lib. iv. c. 5.
[17] Hippol. v. 1437. [18] Alc. v. 22, 23.

I consider this circumstance, that the gods might not pollute themselves by the sight of a corpse, as very cogent in this place. It is a second reason why it cannot be Amor who stands beside the corpse, and is also a reason against all the other gods, the one god alone excepted who cannot possibly pollute himself by regarding a corpse, Death himself.

Or is it thought that perchance yet another deity is to be excepted, namely, the especial genius, the especial guardian spirit of man? Would it then be something preposterous, it might be said, if a man's genius stood mourning beside his body, since its vital extinction forces him to separate from it for ever? Yet even though this idea would not be preposterous, it would be wholly opposed to the ancient mode of thought, according to which even a man's guardian spirit did not await his actual death, but parted from him before the total separation of body and soul ensued. This is manifestly attested by several passages,[19] and consequently this genius cannot be the especial genius of the just departed mortal on whose breast he is resting his torch.

I must not pass over in silence a peculiarity in his position. I seem to find in it a confirmation of a conjecture which I advanced in the same part of the Laokoon.[20] This conjecture encountered objections; it may now be seen whether on good grounds.

When namely Pausanias describes the representation on a sarcophagus in the temple of Juno at Elis, above named, where among other things there appears a woman who holds in her right arm a white sleeping boy, and in her left a black boy, *καθεύδοντι ἐοίκοτα*, which may equally mean "who resembles the sleeping boy" as "who seems to sleep," he adds: *ἀμφοτέρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας*. These words are rendered by the Latin translator as *distortis utrinque pedibus*, and by the French as *les pieds contrefaits*. I asked to what purpose the crooked feet here? How come Sleep and Death by these unshapely limbs? What are they meant to indicate? And, at a loss for an

[19] Wonna, Exercit. iii. de Geniis, cap. 2, § 7. [20] See above, p. 73 note.

answer, I proposed to translate διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας not by "crooked" but by "crossed feet," because this is the usual position of sleepers, and Sleep is thus represented on ancient monuments.

It will be needful first to quote the whole passage in its connected form, because Sylburg deemed an emendation necessary in those very words. πεποίηται δὲ γυνὴ παῖδα λευκὸν καθεύδοντα ἀνέχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ μέλανα ἔχει παῖδα καθεύδοντι ἐοίκοτα, ἀμφοτέρους διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας. Sylburg deemed διεστραμμένους objectionable, and thought that it would be better to read διεστραμμένον instead, because it is preceded by ἐοίκοτα, and both refer to παῖδα.[21] Now this change would not only be superfluous, but also quite false. Superfluous, because why should this διαστρέφεσθαι refer just to παῖδα, since it may as well refer to ἀμφοτέρους or πόδας? False, because thus ἀμφοτέρους could only belong to πόδας, and we should have to translate "crooked in both feet," while it still refers to the double παῖδα, and we must translate "both with crooked feet." That is to say, if διεστραμμένος here means crooked and can mean crooked at all!

Now I must confess that when I wrote the passage in the 'Laokoon,' I knew of no reason why Sleep and Death should be depicted with crooked feet. Only afterwards I found in Rondel [22] that the ancients meant to denote by these crooked feet, the ambiguity and fallaciousness of dreams. But on what is this action founded? and what does it mean? What it should explain, it would only half explain at best. Death surely is dreamless, and yet Death has the same crooked feet. For, as I have said, ἀμφοτέρους must needs refer to the preceding double παῖδα, else ἀμφοτέρους taken with τοὺς πόδας would be a very shallow pleonasm. If a being has crooked feet at all, it follows of itself that both feet are crooked.

But if some one only on this account submitted to Sylburg's reading (διεστραμμένον for διεστραμμένους) in order to be able to give the crooked feet to Sleep alone? Then

[21] Rectius διεστραμμένον, ut antea ἐοίκοτα, respiciunt enim accusativum παῖδα.

[22] Expos. Signi veteris Tolliani, p. 294. Fortuitorum Jacobi Tollii.

let this obstinate man show me any antique Sleep with such feet. There are enough statues as well as *bas-reliefs* extant, which archæologists unanimously recognise as Sleep. Where is there one on which crooked feet can as much as be suspected?

What follows hence? If the crooked feet of Death and Sleep cannot be satisfactorily interpreted; if crooked feet assigned to the latter are not in any antique representation, then I think nothing follows more naturally than the presumption that the crooked feet here are a mere conceit. They are founded on the single passage in Pausanias, on a single word in that passage, and this word is over and above capable of quite another meaning.

For διεστραμμένος from διαστρέφειν does not mean only "crooked," "bent," as "distorted" in general, "brought out of its direction"; not so much *tortuosus*, *distortus*, as *obliquus*, *transversus*, and πόδας διεστραμμένοι can be translated as well by transverse, obliquely placed feet, as by crooked feet; indeed it is better and more accurately rendered by the former than by the latter.

But that διεστραμμένος could be thus translated would be little to the point. The apparent meaning is not always the true one. The following is of greater weight and gives a complete turn to the scale; to translate πόδας διεστραμμένοι as I suggest by "with crossed feet" is, in the case of Death as well as of Sleep, not only most beautiful and appropriate in meaning, but is also often to be seen on ancient monuments.

Crossed feet are the natural attitude of a sleeper when sleeping a quiet healthful sleep. This position has unanimously been given by the ancient artists to every person whom they wished to depict in such sleep. Thus the so-called Cleopatra sleeps in the Belvedere; thus sleeps the Nymph on an old monument in Boissard; so sleeps, or is about to sink into sleep, the Hermaphrodite of Dioskurides. It would be superfluous to multiply such examples. I can only at present recall one ancient figure sleeping in another posture. (Herr Klotz is still very welcome to run quickly over pages of his books of engravings and show me several more.) But this single figure is a drunken faun too overtaken in wine for a quiet

sleep.[23] The ancient artists observed this attitude down to sleeping animals. The two antique lions of yellowish marble among the royal antiquities at Berlin sleep with their fore-paws crossed and rest their heads on them. No wonder therefore that Sleep himself has been represented by them in the attitude so common to sleepers. I have referred to Sleep in Maffei[24] and I might equally well have referred to a similar marble in Tollius. Maffei also mentions two smaller ones, formerly belonging to Constable Colonna, little or in no respect different.

Even in waking figures the posture of crossed feet is a sign of repose. Not a few of the half or wholly recumbent figures of river gods rest thus on their urns, and even in standing persons one foot crossing the other is the actual attitude of pause and quiescence. Therefore Mercuries and Fauns sometimes appear in this position, especially if we find them absorbed in their flute-playing or some other recreation.

Now let all these probabilities be weighed against the mere downright contradictions with which it has been endeavoured to dispose of my explanation. The profoundest is the following, from a scholar to whom I am indebted for more important admonitions. "The Lessing explanation of διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας," says the author of the 'Kritischen Wälder,'[25] "seems to contradict linguistic usage; and if we are to venture conjectures, I could just as well say 'they slept with crossed feet,' *i.e.* the foot of the one stretched over the foot of the other, to show the relationship of Death and Sleep," &c.

Against linguistic usage? How so? Does διεστραμμένος mean anything else but related? and must all that is related be necessarily crooked? How could the one with crossed feet be named more exactly and better in Greek than διεστραμμένον (κατὰ) τοὺς πόδας? or διεστραμμένους τοὺς πόδας, with ἔχοντα understood? I do not know in the least what there is herein against the natural meaning of words or opposed to the genuine construction of the

[23] In Maffei (t. xciv.) where we must resent the taste of this commentator who desires perforce to turn such an indecent figure into a Bacchus. [24] Tabl. cli. [25] [Herder, Tr.]

language. If Pausanias meant to say "crooked," why did he not use the usual word σκολιός?

There is undoubtedly much room for conjecture. But does a conjecture, which has nothing but mere possibility in its favour, deserve to be opposed to another that wants little of being an established truth? Nay, I can scarcely allow the conjecture that is opposed to mine to be even possible. For the one boy rested in the one arm, the other in the other arm of Night; consequently the entwinement of the feet of the one with the feet of the other can scarcely be understood.

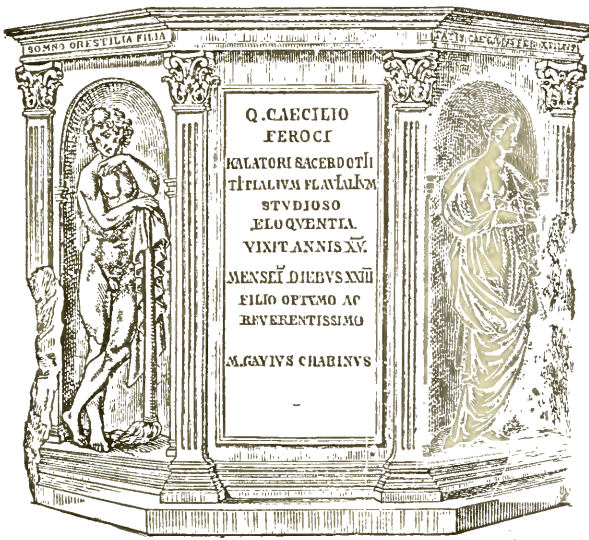
Finally, assuming the possibility of this enlacement, would διεστραμμένους, which is meant to express it, then not also mean something quite different from crooked? Would not this meaning be also opposed to customary usage? Would not the conjecture of my opponent be exposed to the difficulty to which he thinks mine is exposed, without having a single one of the recommendations which he cannot deny to mine?

To return to the plate in Bellori's collection. If it is proved, from what I have hitherto adduced, that the ancient artists represented Sleep with crossed feet; if it is proved that they gave to Death an exact resemblance to Sleep, they would in all probability not have omitted to depict Death with crossed feet. And how, if this very illustration in Bellori were a proof of this? For it really stands with one foot crossing the other, and this peculiarity of attitude can serve as well, I think, to confirm the meaning of the whole figure, as the elsewhere demonstrated meaning of the latter would suffice to establish the characteristic point of this particular attitude.

But it must be understood that I should not form my conclusions so rapidly and confidently if this were the only ancient monument on which the crossed feet are shown on the figure of Death. For nothing would be more natural than to object to me: "If the ancient artists depicted Sleep with crossed feet, then they only portrayed him as recumbent, as himself a sleeper; from this position of Sleep in sleep little or nothing can be deduced as to his attitude when erect, or still less as to the corresponding posture of his counterpart, Death, and it may be a mere

accident that Death once happens to stand in the manner in which we generally see Sleep sleeping."

This objection could only be obviated by the production of several monuments showing that which I think I discover in the figure engraved by Bellori. I hasten therefore to indicate as many of these as are sufficient for the induction, and believe that it will be deemed no mere superfluous ornamentation if I produce some of the most remarkable of these in illustration.



(I.) Monument. (From Boissard.)

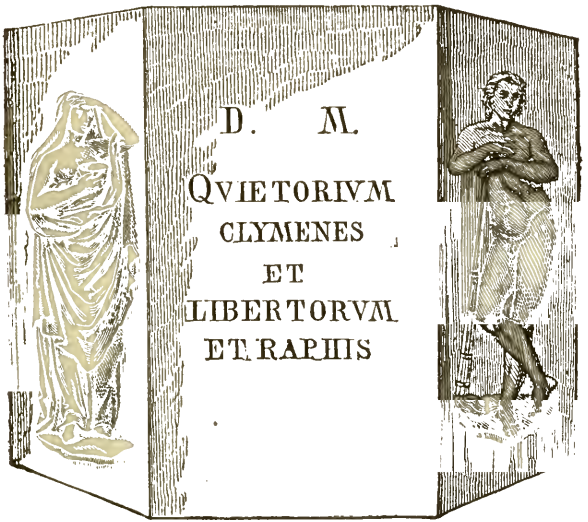
First, therefore, appears the above-named monument in Boissard. Since the express superscription of these figures leaves no room for a misapprehension of their meaning, it may be regarded as the key to all the rest. How does the figure show itself which is here called Somno Orestilia Filia? As a naked youth who casts a mournful look sideways to earth, who leans on a reversed torch, and crosses one foot over the other.

I ought not to omit to mention that there is also a

drawing of this very same monument amongst the papers of Pighius in the Royal Library at Berlin, from which Spanheim has incorporated the single figure of Sleep in his commentary on Kallimachus.[26] That it must be identically the same figure from the same monument given by Boissard is indisputable from the identity of the superscription. But so much more is one astonished at seeing such remarkable differences in the two. The slender grown-up form in Boissard is in Pighius a plump sturdy boy; the latter has wings, the former none; to say nothing of smaller differences in the turn of the head and the position of the arms. How it was that these differences escaped being noticed by Spanheim is conceivable: Spanheim knew the monument only through Gruter's Inscriptions, where he found only the words without any engraving. He did not know or did not remember that the engraving was already published in Boissard, and thus thought that he was imparting something quite unknown, when he furnished it in part from Pighius's papers. It is less easy to excuse Gravius, who in his edition of Gruter's Inscriptions added the design from Boissard,[27] and at the same time did not notice the contradiction between this design and Gruter's verbal description. In the latter the figure is *Genius alatus, crinitus, obesus, dormiens, dextra manu in humerum sinistrum, a quo velum retrorsum dependet, posita;* while in the former it appears frontwise as we see here, and altogether different—not winged, not with really copious hair, not fat, not asleep, and not with the right hand upon the left shoulder. Such discrepancy is scandalous, and cannot but awaken the reader's mistrust, especially when he does not find a word of warning in respect to it. Meanwhile it proves thus much, that the two drawings cannot both be immediately copied from the monument; one of them must necessarily have been drawn from memory. Whether this is Pighius's design or Boissard's can only be decided by one who has opportunity of comparing therewith the monument itself. According to the account of the latter it was to be found in Card. Cesi's palace in Rome. But this palace, if I am correctly

[26] At ver. 234 of Hymn. in Delum. Ed. Ern. p. 524. [27] P. ccciv

informed, was utterly destroyed in the sack of 1527. Several of the antiquities which Boissard there saw might now be in the Farnese Palace; this I assume is the case in respect to the Hermaphrodite and the supposed Head of Pyrrhus.[28] Others I believe I have found again in other cabinets—in short, they are scattered, and it would be difficult to discover the monument of which we are speaking even if it is still in existence. On mere supposition I would just as little declare in favour of Boissard's drawings as of Pighius's. For if it is certain that Sleep can have wings it is just as certain that he need not necessarily have wings.



(ii.)—MONUMENT. (From Boissard.)

The second illustration shows the monument of a certain Clymene, also taken from Boissard.[29] One of these

[28] "Hermaphroditus nudus, qui involutum palliolo femur habet—Caput ingens Pyrrhi regis Epirotarum, galeatum, cristatum, et armato pectore." Topogr. parte i. pp. 4, 5; Winckelmann's Anmerk. üb. d. Gesch. d. Kunst, p. 98.

[29] Par. vi. p. 119.

figures has so much resemblance to the before named, that this resemblance and the place it occupies can no longer leave us in doubt on its account. It can be nothing else but Sleep, and this Sleep, also leaning on a reversed torch, has the feet placed one over the other. It is also without wings, and it would indeed be singular if Boissard had forgotten them here a second time, but as I have said, the ancients may often have represented Sleep without wings. Pausanias does not give any to Sleep in the arms of Night; neither do Statius nor Ovid accord him such in their detailed description of this god and his habitation. Brouckhuysen has been much at fault when he says that the latter poet actually gave Sleep two pairs of wings, one at his head and one at his feet. For although Statius says of him—

"Ipse quoque et volucrem gressum et ventosa citavit
Tempora" [30]

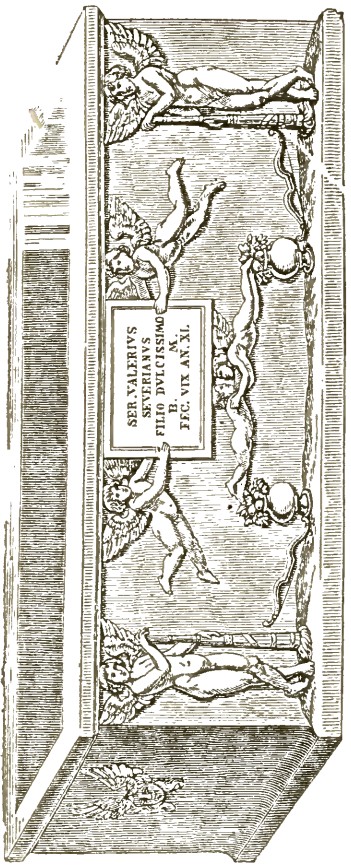
—this is not in the least to be understood of natural wings, but of the winged petasus and the talaria, which the poets bestow not only on Mercury, but frequently also on other deities when they wish to represent them in extraordinary haste. But I am not at all concerned with the wings but the feet of Sleep, and I continue to show the *διεστραμμένον* of the same on various monuments.

Our third illustration shows a Pila or a sarcophagus, which is again taken from Boissard.[31] The inscription also occurs in Gruter,[32] where the two genii with reversed torches are called two Cupids. But we are already too conversant with this figure of Sleep to mistake it here. And this Sleep also stands both times with feet crossed. And why is this same figure repeated twice here? Not so much repeated, as doubled; to show image and counter-image. Both are Sleep; the one the transient, the other the long-enduring Sleep; in a word, they are the resembling twin brothers, Sleep and Death. I may conjecture

[30] Ad Tibullum, lib. ii. Eleg. i. v. 89: "Et sic quidem poetæ plerique omnes, videlicet ut alas habuerit hic deus in humeris. Papinius autem, suo quodam jure peculiari, alas ei in pedibus et in capite adfingit." L. 10, Theb. v. 131.

[31] Par. v. p. 115.

[32] Pag. DCCXII.



(iii.)—Sarcophagus. (From Boissard.)

that as we see them here, so and not otherwise, they will appear on the monuments mentioned by Winckelmann; on the sepulchral stone of the Palazzo Albani and on the cinerary urn of the Collegium Clementinum. We must not be misled by the bows that here lie at their feet; these may belong to the floating genii just as well as to the standing ones, and I have seen on various monuments an unstrung or even a broken bow, not as the attribute of Amor, but as an image totally unconnected with him, of spent life in general. How a bow could be the image of a good housewife I do not know, and yet an old epitaph, made known by Leich from the unpublished Anthology,[33] says that so it has been:—

Τόξα μὲν αὐδάσει τὰν εὔτονον ἄγετιν οἶκου·

And from this it is at least apparent that it need not of necessity be the weapon of Amor, and that it may mean more than we can explain.

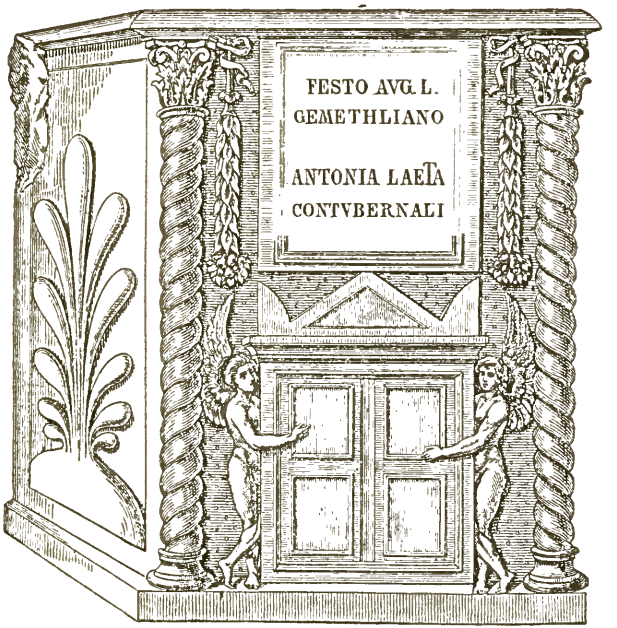
I append a fourth illustration. This is a monument found by Boissard in Rome in St. Angelo ("in Templo Junonis quod est in foro piscatorio"), and where beyond doubt it may still be found.[34] Behind a closed door stands on either side a winged genius, half of whose body projects, and who points with his hand to the closed door. The representation is too expressive not to recall the *domus exilis Plutonia*,[35] from whence no release can be hoped; and who could more fitly be the warders of this eternal prison than Sleep and Death? In the position and action in which we see them no reversed torch is needed to define them more accurately; but the artist has given them the crossed feet. Yet how unnatural this posture would be in this place if it were not expressly meant to be characteristic!

Let it not be thought that these are all the examples I could adduce on my side of the question. Even from Boissard I could bring forward several more, where Death, either as Sleep, or together with Sleep, exhibits the same position of the feet.[36] Maffei too would furnish me with a

[33] Sepulc. Car. xiv. [34] Parte v. p. 22.
[35] Tollii Expos. Signi vet. p. 292.
[36] For instance part iii. p. 69, and perhaps also part v. p. 23.

complete harvest of figures such as appear on the first plate.[37]

But to what end this superfluity? Four such monuments, not reckoning that in Bellori, are more than enough to obviate the presumption that that could be a



(iv.)—Sepulchral Monument. (From Boissard.)

mere insignificant accident which is capable of such a deep meaning. At least such an accident would be the most extraordinary that can be imagined! What a coincidence, if certain things were accidentally thus on more than one undoubted antique monument, exactly as I have said that according to my reading of a certain

[37] Museo Veron. tab. cxxxix.

passage, they must be; or if it were a mere accident that this passage could be so construed as if it had been written with a real view to such monuments. No, chance is not so consistent, and I may maintain without vanity, that consequently my explanation, although it is only *my* explanation, little as may be the credit attaching to it merely on my authority, is yet as completely proved as ever anything of this nature can be proved.

Consequently I think it is hardly worth while to clear away this or that trifle which might perhaps occur to a sceptic who will not cease doubting. For instance the lines of Tibullus:—[38]

> "Postque venit tacitus fuscis circumdatus alis
> Somnus et incerto somnia vara pede."

It is true that express mention is here made of Dreams with crooked legs. But Dreams! And if the legs of Dreams were crooked why must Sleep's needs be the same? Because he is the father of Dreams? An excellent reason! And yet that is not the only answer that here occurs to me. For the real one is this: the adjective *vara* is certainly not Tibullus's own, it is nothing but an arbitrary reading of Brouckhuysen's. Before this commentator all editions read either *nigra* or *vana*. The latter is the true one, and Brouckhuysen can only have been misled to reject it by the facility of foisting a foreign idea upon his author by altering a single letter. For if the ancient poets often represent Dreams as tottering upon weak uncertain feet, namely deceptive, false dreams; does it follow thence that they must have conceived of these weak uncertain feet as crooked? Why must weak feet needs be crooked, or crooked feet, weak? Moreover the ancients did not regard all dreams as false and deceptive, they believed in a species of very veracious dreams, and Sleep with these, his children, was to them *Futuri certus* as well as *pessimus auctor*.[39] Consequently crooked feet, as the symbol of uncertainty, could not in their apprehension belong to Dreams in general, still less to Sleep, as the universal father of Dreams. And yet I admit all these petty reasons

[38] Lib. ii. Eleg. i. v. 89, 90. [39] Seneca Herc. Furens, v. 1070.

might be pushed aside if Brouckhuysen, beside the misunderstood passage of Pausanias, had been able to indicate a single one in favour of the crooked feet of Dreams and Sleep. He explains the meaning of *varus* with twenty superfluous passages, but to prove *varus* an epithet of dreams, he adduces no example, but has to make one, and as I have said, not even the single one of Pausanias gives it but it is made out from a false rendering of Pausanias. It is almost ludicrous, when, since he cannot find a bandy-legged Sleep, he tries to show us at least a genius with crooked feet in a passage of Persius,[40] where *genius* means nothing but *indoles* and *varus*, hence nothing more than standing apart.

". . . . . Geminos, horoscope, varo
Producis genio . . . ."

This digression concerning the διεστραμμένους of Pausanias would have been far too long had it not afforded me an opportunity of bringing forward at the same time various antique representations of Death. For let it be as it may with the crossed feet of Death and his brother; may they be held as characteristic or no; so much is unquestionable from the monuments I have adduced, that the ancient artists always continued to fashion Death with an exact resemblance to Sleep, and it was only that which I wanted to prove here.

For, completely as I myself am convinced of the characteristic element that is contained in this attitude of the feet, I will not therefore insist that no image of Sleep or Death can be without it. On the contrary I can easily conceive an instance in which such an attitude could be at variance with the meaning of the whole and I think I can show examples of such instances. If namely one foot crossing the other is a sign of repose, it can then only duly belong to death that has already taken place; death on the other hand that has still to occur will for that very reason demand another attitude.

In such another attitude, announcing its approach, I think that I recognise Death on a gem in Stephanonius

[40] Sat. vi. v. 18.

or Licetus.[41] A winged genius who holds in one hand a cinerary urn, seems to be extinguishing with the other a reversed but yet burning torch, and looks aside mournfully at a butterfly creeping on the ground. The outstretched legs are either to show him in the act of advancing, or denote the posture involuntarily assumed by the body when about to throw back one arm with violence. I do not like to detain myself with a refutation of the highly forced explanation which both the first poetical interpreter of the Stephanonian gem and the hieroglyphical Licetus gave of this representation. They are both founded on the assumption that a winged boy must needs be an Amor, and as they contradict each other, so they both fall to the ground as soon as the foundation of this assumption is examined. This genius is therefore neither Amor who preserves the memory of departed friends in a faithful heart; nor Amor who renounces love out of vexation because he can find no requital; he is nothing but Death and even approaching Death, in the act of extinguishing his torch, upon which, when extinguished, we have already seen him leaning.

I have always been reminded of this gesture of extinguishing the torch, as an allegory of approaching death, as often as the so-called brothers, Castor and Pollux, in the Villa Ludovici have been brought before my eyes.[42] That they are not Castor and Pollux has been evident to many scholars, but I doubt whether Del Torre or Maffei has therefore come any nearer the truth. They are two undraped, very similar genii, both in a gently melancholy attitude, the one embraces the shoulder of the other, who holds a torch in each hand; the one in his right, which he seems to have taken from his playfellow, he is about to extinguish upon an altar that stands between them, while the other in his left, he has dashed over his shoulder to extinguish it with violence; behind them stands a smaller female figure, not unlike an Isis. Del Torre saw in this group two figures worshipping Isis; while Maffei preferred to regard them as Lucifer and Hesperus. Good as the reasons may be which Maffei brings against the ex-

[41] Schemata, vii. p. 123. [See p. 178 above.] [42] Maffei, tab. cxxi.

planation of Del Torre, his own idea is equally unhappy. Whence can Maffei prove to us that the ancients represented Lucifer and Hesperus as two distinct beings? They were to them only two names for the same star and for the same mythical personage.[43] Pity that one should venture to guess the most intimate thoughts of antiquity and not know such generally familiar matters! But the more needful must it be to excogitate a new explanation of this excellent work of art; and if I suggest Death and Sleep, I desire to do nothing more than to suggest them. It is palpable that their attitudes are not those of sacrificers; and if one of the torches is to light the sacrifice what means the other in the background? That one figure extinguishes both torches at once, would be very significant according to my conjecture, for in reality Death makes an end to both waking and sleeping. And then, according to this theory the diminutive female figure might not unjustly be interpreted as Night, as the mother of Sleep and Death. For if the kalathus on the head of an Isis or Cybele makes her recognisable as the mother of all things, I should not be astonished to see here Night—

θεῶν γενέτειρα—ἦ δε καὶ ἀνδρῶν,

as Orpheus names her, also with the kalathus.

What besides appears most manifestly from the figure of Stephanonius combined with that of Bellori, is this, that the cinerary urn, the butterfly, and the wreath are those attributes by which Death was distinguished from his counterpart Sleep, where and when this was needful. The particular mark of Sleep was on the other hand unquestionably a horn.

Some light might be thrown on this by quite another representation on the gravestone of a certain Amemptus, a freed-man of I know not what empress or imperial princess.[44] See the accompanying plate [p. 202]. A male and female Centaur, the first playing on a lyre, the other blowing a double tibia, each bearing a winged boy on

[43] Hyginus, Poet. Astr. lib. ii. cap. 42.
[44] Boissardus, par. iii. p. 144.

its back, of whom each is blowing a flute; under the upraised foot of the one Centaur lies an urn, under that

Monumental Stone. (From Boissard.)

of the other a horn. What can this allegory import? What was it to mean here? A man like Herr Klotz, it is true, whose head is full of love-gods, would soon be ready with his answer. These are a pair of Cupids, he would say, and the wise artist has here again shown the triumph of love over the most untamable creatures, a triumph effected by music. Well, well, what could have been more worthy of the wisdom of the ancient artists than ever to dally with love, especially in the way that these gentlemen knew love? Meanwhile it still could be possible that even an ancient artist, to speak after their manner, sacrificed less to love and the graces and was in this instance a hundred miles away from thinking of love! It might be possible

that what to their eyes resembles Amor as one drop of water the other, is nothing more playful than Sleep and Death.

In the guise of winged boys the two are no longer strange to us, and the vase on the side of the one and the horn beside the other seem to me not much less expressive than their actual written names would be. I know well that the vase and the horn might only be drinking vessels, and that in antiquity the Centaurs were no mean topers, wherefore on various works they appear in the train of Bacchus and even draw his car.[45] But why in this capacity did they require to be indicated by attributes? and is it not far more in keeping with the place to explain this vase, this horn as the attributes of Sleep and Death which they had of necessity to throw aside in order to manage their flutes?

If however I name the vase or urn as the attribute of Death, I do not mean thereby the actual cinerary urn, the *Ossuarium* or *Cinerarium*, or however else the vase was called in which the remains of the cremated bodies were preserved. I include under it also the λήκυθοι, the vessels of every kind that were placed in the earth with the dead bodies that were buried entire, without entering upon the question what may have been contained in these bottles. A corpse about to be buried among the Greeks was as little left without such a vessel as without a wreath, which is very clearly shown in various passages of Aristophanes among others,[46] so that it is quite intelligible how both became attributes of Death.

There is still less doubt regarding the horn as an attri-

[45] Gemme antiche colle sposizioni di P. A. Maffei, parte iii. p. 58.

[46] Especially in the Ecclesiazusæ, where Blepyrus scolds his Praxagora for having got up secretly at night and gone out in his clothes (l. 537–8)—

ὄχου καταλιποῦσ' ὥσπερεὶ προκείμενον,
Μόνον οὐ στεφανώσασ', οὐδ' ἐπιθεῖσα λήκυθον.

The scholiast adds thereto: Εἰώθασι γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκρῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Compare in the same play the lines 1022–27, where the Greek funeral customs are to be found together. That such vessels (λήκυθοι) which were placed beside the dead, were painted, and that it was not precisely the great masters who occupied themselves with this branch of the art is clear from lines 987–88. Tanaquil Faber seems to have

bute of Sleep. The poets refer to this horn in innumerable passages. Out of a full horn he pours his blessing over the eyelids of the weary—

> "Illos post vulnera fessos
> Exceptamque hiemem, cornu perfuderat omni
> Somnus;"

with an emptied horn he follows departing Night into his grotto—

> "Et Nox, et cornu fugiebat Somnus inani."

And as the poets beheld him the artists depicted him.[47] Only the double horn, wherewith the extravagant imagination of Romeyn de Hooghe has overburdened him, is known neither by the one nor the other.[48]

Granted therefore that it might be Sleep and Death who here sit on the Centaurs, what would be the meaning of their combined representation? If I have happily guessed a part, must I therefore be able to explain the whole? Perhaps however the secret is not very profound. Perhaps Amemptus was a musician especially skilled in the instruments we here behold in the hands of these subterranean beings; for Centaurs also had their abode at the gates of Hades according to the later poets—

> "Centauri in foribus stabulant"

—and it was quite common to place on the monument of an artist the implements of his art, which here would not have been devoid of a delicate complimentary significance.

---

believed that they were not really painted vessels that were buried with the dead, but that such vessels were painted round about them, for he notes at the last place: "Quod autem lecythi mortuis appingerentur, aliunde ex Aristophane innotuit." I wish he would have given his reference for this *aliunde*.

[47] Servius ad Æneid. vi. v. 233: "Somnum cum cornu novimus pingi. Lutatius apud Barthium ad Thebaid. vi. v. 27. Nam sic a pictoribus simulatur, ut liquidum somnium ex cornu super dormientes videatur effundere."

[48] Denkbilder der alten Völker, p. 193, German translation.

I cannot however express myself otherwise than hesitatingly concerning this monument in general. For I see myself once again perplexed as to how far Boissard may be relied upon. The drawing is Boissard's, but before him Smetius had published the inscription with an additional line,[49] and had appended a verbal description of the figures surrounding it. Smetius says of the principal figures: "Inferius Centauri duo sunt, alter mas, lyncea instratus, lyram tangens, cui Genius alatus, fistula, Germanicæ modernæ simili, canens insidet; alter fœmina, fistulis duabus simul in os insertis canens, cui alter Genius fœmineus alis papilionum, manibus nescio quid concutiens, insidet. Inter utrumque cantharus et cornu Bacchicum projecta jacent." All is exact, except the genius borne by the female Centaur. According to Smetius this one should also be of female sex, and have butterfly wings and strike something together with her hands. According to Boissard this figure is no more winged than its companion, and instead of cymbals or perhaps of a Crotalum, he plays upon the same kind of wind instrument as the other. It is sad to notice such contradictions so often. They must from time to time make antiquarian studies very repugnant to a man who does not willingly build on quicksand.

Nevertheless even if Smetius saw more correctly than Boissard, I should not therefore wholly abandon my explanation. For then the female genius with butterfly wings would be a Psyche, and if Psyche is the picture of the soul, then we must here see instead of Death the soul of the dead. To this also the attribute of the urn would be appropriate, and the attribute of the horn would still indicate Sleep.

I imagine moreover that I have discovered Sleep elsewhere than on sepulchral monuments, and especially in a company where one would scarcely have expected to find him. Among the train of Bacchus, namely, there appears not rarely a boy or genius with a cornucopia, and I do not know that any one has as yet thought it worth

[49] Which names those who erected this monument to Amemptus, LALVS ET CORINTHVS. L. V. Gruteri Corp. Inscr. p. dcvi. edit. Græo.

his while to identify this figure. It is, for instance, on the well-known gem of Baggaris, now in the collection of the King of France, the explanation of which Casaubon first gave, and it was noticed by him and all subsequent commentators,[50] but not one of them knew what to say of it beyond what is obvious to the eye, and a genius with a cornucopia has remained a genius with a cornucopia. I venture to pronounce him to be Sleep. For as has been proved, Sleep is a diminutive genius, the attribute of Sleep is a horn, and what companion could an intoxicated Bacchus desire rather than Sleep? That it was usual for the ancient artists to couple Bacchus with Sleep, is shown by the pictures of Sleep with which Statius decked his palace.[51]

"Mille intus simulacra dei cælaverat ardens,
Mulciber. Hic hæret lateri redimita voluptas,
Hic comes in requiem vergens labor. Est ubi Baccho,
Est ubi Martigenæ socium pulvinar amori
Obtinet. Interius tectum in penetralibus altis,
Et cum Morte jacet: nullique ea tristis imago."[52]

Nay, if an ancient inscription may be trusted, or rather if this inscription is ancient enough, Bacchus and Sleep were even worshipped in common as the two greatest and sweetest sustainers of human life.

It is not in place here to pursue this trace more keenly. Neither is the present occasion opportune for treating more amply my special theme and seeking far and wide for further proofs of the ancients having depicted Death as Sleep, and Sleep as Death, now alone, now together, now with, now without certain attributes. Those instanced, even if others could not be hunted out, sufficiently confirm what they are designed to confirm, and I may pass on without scruple to the second point which contains the refutation of the one single counter-proposition.

[50] See Lippert's Dakt. i. 366.

[51] Thebaid. xv. 100. Barth need not have been so chary as to omit commenting on these lines because they are omitted in some of the best MSS. He has spent his learning on worse verses.

[52] Corp. Inscript. p. lxvii. 8.

II. I say: the ancient artists, when they represented a skeleton, meant thereby something quite different from Death, as the deity of Death. I prove therefore (1) that they did not thereby mean Death, and show (2) what they did mean.

1. It never occurred to me to deny that they represented skeletons. According to Herr Klotz's words I must have denied it, and denied it for the reason that they refrained in general from portraying ugly or disagreeable objects. For he says, I should beyond question resolve the examples thereof on engraved gems into allegory, which thus relieves them from the higher law of beauty. If I needed to do this, I need only add, that the figures on gravestones and cinerary urns belong no less to allegory, and thus of all his cited examples there would only remain the two brazen figures in the Kircherian Museum and the gallery at Florence, which can really not be reckoned among works of art as I understand that term in the 'Laokoon.'

But wherefore these civilities towards him? As far as he is concerned I need simply deny the faults of which he accuses me. I have nowhere said that the ancient artists represented no skeletons, I only said that they did not depict Death as a skeleton. It is true, I thought that I might doubt the genuine antiquity of the bronze skeleton at Florence; but I added: "It cannot at any rate be meant to represent Death because the ancients depicted him differently." Herr Klotz withholds this additional sentence from his readers, and yet everything depends upon it. For it shows that I will not exactly deny that of which I doubt. It shows that my meaning has only been this: if the image in question is to represent Death, as Spence maintains, it is not antique, and if it is antique, then it does not represent Death.

I was already acquainted with several skeletons on antique works and now I know of several more than the luckless industry or the boastful indolence of Herr Klotz has been able to produce.

For in fact those which he cites, all except one, are already to be found in Winckelmann [53] and that he here

[53] Allegorie, p. 81.

only copied from him is apparent from an error common to them both. Winckelmann writes: "I here note that skeletons are only extant on two ancient monuments and urns of marble in Rome, the one is in the Villa Medici, the other in the Museo of the Collegio Romano. Another with a skeleton is to be found in Spon, but is no longer in Rome." He refers to Spon concerning the former of those skeletons which still stands in the Villa Medici (Spon, *Rech. d'Antiq.* p. 93) and concerning the third, which is no longer extant in Rome, to the same scholar's *Miscell. Ant.* p. 7. Now this and that with Spon are one and the same, and if that which Spon cites in his *Recherches* still stands in the Villa Medici, then that in his *Miscellanées* is certainly also still in Rome and is to be seen in the same villa on the same spot. Spon however, I must remark, did not see it in the Villa Medici, but in the Villa Madama.

As little therefore as Winckelmann can have compared the two quotations from Spon, as little has Herr Klotz done so, else he would not have referred me, to excess, as he says, to the two marbles quoted by Winckelmann in his essay on allegory and immediately after have also named the monument in Spon. One of these is, as I have said, counted twice over, and this he must permit me to deduct.

In order however that he may not be annoyed at this subtraction, I will at once place half a dozen other skeletons at his service in lieu of the one I have taken away. It is game that I myself do not preserve, that has only accidentally strayed into my domains, and with which I am consequently very liberal. To begin with, I have the honour to bring before him three all together. They are upon a stone from the Daktyliotheca of Andreini in Florence to be found in Gori.[54] The fourth this same Gori will exhibit to him on an old marble likewise in Florence.[55] The fifth he will encounter, if my information is not at fault, in Fabretti,[55] and the sixth upon the

[54] Inscript. antiq. quæ in Etruriæ urbibus exstant, par. i. p. 455.

[55] *Ibid.* p. 382: "Tabula, in qua sub titulo sculptum est canistrum, binæ corollæ, fœmina cornu mensa tripode in lectisternio decumbens, Pluto quadriga vectus animam rapiens, præeunte Mercurio petasato et caduceato, qui rotundam domum intrat, prope quam jacet scletus."

[56] Inscript. cap. i. n. 17, quoted by Gori from the above.

second of the two gems of Stosch of which he only brings forward one out of Lippert's [57] impressions.

What a wretched study is the study of antiquity if its subtlety depends on such knowledge; when the most learned therein is he who can most easily and exhaustively count up such trivialities on his fingers!

But it seems to me it has a more dignified side, this study. A dealer in antiquities is one thing, an archæologist another! The former has inherited the fragments, the latter the spirit of antiquity. The former scarcely thinks with his eyes; the latter sees even with his thoughts. Before the former can say "Thus it was," the latter already knows whether it could be so.

The former may pile together yet seventy and seven more such artistic skeletons out of his rubbish heap, to prove that the ancients represented Death as a skeleton; the latter will shrug his shoulders at this short-sighted industry and will continue to say what he said before he knew all this baggage; either they are not as old as they are thought to be, or they are not that which they are proclaimed.

Putting the question of age aside as not decided or as not capable of decision, what reason have we for saying that these skeletons represent Death?

Because we moderns represent Death as a skeleton? We moderns still in part depict Bacchus as fat and paunchy. Was this therefore also the representation which the ancients gave of him? If a bas-relief were found of the birth of Hercules and we saw a woman with folded hands, *digitis pectinatim inter se implexis* sitting before a door, should we perhaps say this woman is praying to Juno Lucina that she may aid Alkmene to a quick and happy deliverance? But do not we pray in this manner? This reasoning is so wretched that one feels ashamed to attribute it to any one. Moreover too the moderns do not portray Death as a mere skeleton; they give him a scythe or something of the kind in his hand, and this scythe it is that converts the skeleton into Death.

If we are to believe that the ancient skeletons represented Death, we must be convinced, either by the repre-

[57] Descript. des Pierres gr. p. 517, n. 241.

sentation itself or by the express testimony of ancient writers. But neither the one nor the other are forthcoming. Not even the faintest, the most indirect testimony can be adduced for this.

I call indirect testimonies the references and pictures of the poets. Where is there the faintest trace in any Greek or Roman poet which could ever allow us to suspect that he found Death represented as a skeleton or so thought of it himself?

Pictures of Death are frequent among the poets and often very terrible. He is the pale, pallid, sallow Death;[58] he roams abroad on black wings;[59] he bears a sword;[60] he gnashes hungry teeth;[61] he suddenly opens a voracious jaw;[62] he has bloody nails with which he indicates his destined prey;[63] his form is so large and monstrous that he overshadows a whole battlefield,[64] that he hurries off with entire cities.[65] But where in all this is there even a suspicion of a skeleton? In one of Euripides' tragedies he is even introduced among the acting personages; and there too he is the sad, terrible, inexorable Death. Yet even there he is far removed from appearing as a skeleton, although we know that the mechanism of the ancient stage did not hesitate to terrify the spectators with yet more horrible figures. There is no apparent trace of his being indicated otherwise than by his black vesture,[66] and by the steel with which he cut off the hair of the dying, thus dedicating them to the infernal gods.[67] Perhaps he may have had wings.[68]

[58] "Pallida, lurida Mors."

[59] "Atris circumvolat alis," Horat. Sat. ii. i. v. 58.

[60] "Fila sororum ense metit," Statius, Theb. i. v. 633.

[61] "Mors avidis pallida dentibus," Seneca, Her. Fur.

[62] "Avidos oris hiatus pandit," Idem, Œdipo.

[63] "Præcipuos annis animisque cruento ungue notat," Statius, Theb. viii. v. 380.

[64] "Fruitur cœlo, bellatoremque volando campum operit," *Ibid.* viii. v. 378.

[65] "Captam tenens fert manibus urbem," *Ibid.* lib. i. v. 633.

[66] Alcest. v. 843, where Hercules names him Ἄνακτα τὸν μελάμπεπλον νεκρῶν.

[67] *Ibid.* v. 75, 76, where he says of himself—

ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν,
ὅτου τόδ' ἔγγυος κράτους ἀγνίσει τρίχα.

[68] If the πτέρωτος ᾄδας in the 261st line is to be understood of him.

But may not some of these shots recoil on myself? If it be admitted to me that in the pictures of the poets nothing is seen of this skelcton; must I not in return admit that they are nevertheless far too terrible to exist together with that image of Death which I believe that I have discovered among the ancient artists? If a conclusion drawn from that which is not to be found in the poet's pictures be valid for the material pictures of art; will not a similar conclusion drawn from that which is found in these pictures be valid also?

I answer, No; this conclusion is not as entirely valid in this case as in the other. Poetical pictures are of immeasurably wider range than the pictures of art: and especially in the personification of an abstract idea, art can only express that which is general and essential to it. It must renounce all the accidents which would form exceptions to this universality, which stand in opposition to this essential quality, for such accidents in the thing itself would make the thing itself unrecognisable, and to be recognised is its aim above all things. The poet, on the contrary, who elevates their personified abstract idea into the class of acting personages, can allow him to act up to a certain point contrary to this idea and can introduce him in all the modifications that any especial case offers, without our losing sight in the least of his actual nature.

Hence, if art wishes to make the personified idea of Death recognisable by us, by what must she, by what else can she do so, than by that which is common to Death in all possible cases? And what else is this but the condition of repose and insensibility? The more she would desire to express contingencies which in a single case might banish the idea of this rest and insensibility, the more unrecognisable her picture must necessarily become, unless she resorts to the addition of some word, or some conventional sign, which is no better than a word and will thus cease to be pictorial art. The poet need not fear this. For him language has already elevated abstract ideas to the rank of independent beings, and the same word never ceases to awaken the same idea, however many contradictory contingencies he may unite with it. He may describe Death as never so painful, so terrible, so

cruel, we do not therefore forget that it is only Death, and that such a horrible shape does not belong to him essentially, but only under similar circumstances.

The condition of being dead has nothing terrible, and in so far as dying is merely the passage to being dead, dying can have nothing terrible. Only to die thus and thus, at this moment, in this mood, according to the will of this or that person, to die with shame and agony, may be terrible and becomes terrible. But is it then the dying, is it Death, which has caused the terror? Nothing less; Death is the desired end of all these horrors, and it is only to be imputed to the poverty of language if it calls both conditions, the condition which leads unavoidably to Death, and the condition of Death itself, by one and the same name. I know that this poverty can often become a source of pathos and that the poets thus derive advantage from it, but still that language unquestionably merits the preference that despises a pathos which is founded on the confusion of such diverse matters, and which itself obviates such confusion by distinctive appellations. Such a language it appears was the ancient Greek, the language of Homer. Κήρ is one thing to Homer and θάνατος another; for he would not so frequently have combined θάνατος and κήρ if both were meant to express only one and the same thing. By κήρ he understands the necessity of dying, what may often be a sad, an early, violent, shameful, inopportune death; by θάνατος natural death, which is preceded by no κήρ, or the condition of being dead without any reference to the preceding κήρ.

The Romans too made a distinction between *lethum* and *mors*.

> "Emergit late Ditis chorus, horrida Erinnys,
> Et Bellona minax, facibusque armata Megæra,
> Lethumque, Insidiæque, et lurida Mortis imago"

—says Petronius. Spence thinks it is difficult to understand this distinction; but that perhaps by *lethum* they understood the general principle or the source of mortality, which they supposed to have its proper residence in Hell, and by *mors* or *mortes* the immediate cause of each particular instance of mortality

on our earth.[69] I, for my part, would sooner take that *lethum* is to denote rather the manner of dying, and *mors* Death originally and in general, for Statius says:[70]

"Mille modis lethi miseros Mors una fatigat."

The modes of dying are endless; but there is only one Death. Consequently *lethum* would completely answer to the Greek κήρ, and *mors* to θάνατος, without prejudice to the fact that in the one language as well as in the other, the two words became confounded in time and were finally employed as entirely synonymous.

However I will here also imagine to myself an opponent who contests every step of the field. Such a one might say: "I will allow the distinction between κήρ and θάνατος, but if the poets, if language itself have distinguished between a terrible death and one that is not terrible, why then may not Art be permitted to have a similar double image for Death? The less terrible image may have been the genius who rests on his reversed torch, with his various attributes; and consequently this genius was a θάνατος. How stands it with the image of Κήρ? If this had to be terrible, then perhaps it was a skeleton, and we should then still be permitted to say, that the ancients represented Death, *i.e.* violent death, for which our language lacks a name, by means of a skeleton.

It is certainly true that the ancient artists also accepted the abstraction of Death from the terrors that precede it and represented the latter under the especial image of Κήρ. But how could they have chosen for their representation something which only ensues long after death? A skeleton would have been as unsuitable for this as possible. Whosoever is not satisfied with this reasoning, let him look at the fact. Fortunately Pausanias has

[69] Polymetis, p. 261: "The Roman poets sometimes make a distinction between Lethum and Mors, which the poverty of our language will not allow us to express. Perhaps he meant by Lethum, that general principle or source of mortality, which they supposed to have its proper residence in hell; and by Mors, or Mortes (for they had several of them) the immediate cause of each particular instance of mortality on our earth."

[70] Thebaid. ix. v. 280.

preserved for us the image under which this Κήρ was depicted. It appeared as a woman with horrible teeth and crooked nails, like to a wild beast Thus was she represented upon the cist of Kypselus on which Death and Sleep rested in the arms of Night, behind Polyneikes when his brother Eteokles attacks him. τοῦ Πολυνείκους δὲ ὄπισθεν ἕστηκεν ὀδόντας τε ἔχουσα οὐδὲν ἡμερωτέρους θηρίου, καὶ οἱ καὶ τῶν χειρων εἰσὶν ἐπικαμπεῖς οἱ ὄνυχες· ἐπίγραμμά δε ἐπ' αὐτῇ εἶναί φασι Κῆρα.[71] A substantive seems wanting in the text before ἕστηκεν, but it would be a mere quibble if we affected to doubt that it must be γυνή. Anyway it cannot be σκελετός, and that is enough for me.

Herr Klotz has already once before wanted to employ this image of Κήρ against my assertion as to the manner in which Death was depicted by the ancients,[72] and now he knows what I could have replied to him. Κήρ is not Death, and it is mere poverty in those languages where it has to pass for it by a circumlocution and with the addition of the word Death. So distinct an idea ought to have a word for itself in all languages. And yet Herr Klotz should not have praised Kulmius for translating κήρ by *mors fatalis*. It would be more correct and exact to say *fatum mortale, mortiferum*, for in Suidas κήρ is explained by θανατηφόρος μοῖρα, not by θάνατος πεπρωμένος.

Finally I will remind my readers of the euphemisms of the ancients and their delicacy in exchanging such words as might immediately awaken disagreeable, sad, horrible ideas for less shocking ones. If in consequence of this euphemism they did not distinctly say "he is dead" but rather "he has lived, he has been, he has gone to the majority"[73] and such like; if one of the reasons of this delicacy consisted in avoiding as far as might be words of evil omen; then there can be no doubt that the artists too

[71] Lib. v. cap. 19, p. 425, ed. Kuhn.

[72] Ad Litt. vol. iii. p. 288: "Considerem quasdam figuras arcæ Cypseli in templo Olympico insculptas. Inter eas apparet γυνὴ ὀδόντας, κ.τ.λ. Verbum κῆρα recto explicat Kulmius mortem fatalem eoque loco refutari posse videtur Auctoris opinio de minus terribili forma morti ab antiquis tributa, cui sententiæ etiam alia monimenta adversari videntur."

[73] Gattakerus, de novi Instrumenti stylo, cap. xix. [London, 1648].

would tone down their language to this gentler pitch. They too would not have presented Death under an image unavoidably calling up before the beholder loathsome ideas of decay and corruption, the image of the ugly skeleton; for in their compositions too the unexpected sight of such an image could have become as ominous as the unexpected hearing of the actual word. They too therefore will rather have chosen an image, which leads us to that of which it is emblematic by an agreeable by-path; and what image could be more suited to this, than that whose symbolic expression language itself likes to employ as the designation of Death, the image of Sleep?

"Nullique ea tristis imago."

But euphemism does not banish words from a language, does not necessarily thrust them out of usage because it exchanges them for gentler ones. It rather employs these repulsive and therefore avoided words, instead of the less offensive ones, on a more terrible occasion. Thus, for example, it says of him who died quietly, that he no longer lives, so it would say of him who had been murdered under the most horrible tortures, that he had died; and in like manner, Art will not wholly banish from her domain those images by which she might indicate Death but which on account of their horrors she does not willingly employ, but will rather reserve them for such occasions in which they are the more appropriate, or even the only serviceable ones.

Therefore, since it is proved that the ancients did not represent Death by a skeleton; and since nevertheless skeletons are to be seen on ancient monuments; what are they then, these skeletons?

Without circumlocution these skeletons are *Larvæ;* and that not inasmuch as *Larva* itself means nothing else but a skeleton, but inasmuch as under *Larvæ* a kind of departed souls was understood.

The ordinary pneumatology of the ancients was as follows. Besides the gods, they believed in an innumerable race of created spirits, whom they named Dæmons. Among these Dæmons they also reckoned the departed souls of men, which they comprehended under the general name of *Lemures* and of which there could not well be

otherwise than two kinds; departed souls of good and of bad men. The good became peaceful, blissful household gods for their posterity and were named *Lares*. The bad, in punishment of their crimes, wandered like restless fugitives about the earth, an empty terror to the pious, a blighting terror to the impious, and were named *Larvæ*. In the uncertainty whether a departed soul were of the first or second kind, the word *Manes*[74] was employed.

And I say, that such *Larvæ*, such departed souls of bad men were represented as skeletons. I am convinced that this remark is new from the point of view of art and has not been used by any archæologist in explanation of ancient monuments. People will therefore require to see it proved, and it might not be sufficient if I referred to a commentary of Herr Stephanus, according to which in an old epigram οἱ σκελετοί is to be explained by *Manes*. But what this commentary only lets us guess, the following words will place beyond doubt. Seneca says:[75] "Nemo tam puer est, ut Cerberum timeat, et tenebras, et Larvarum habitum nudis ossibus cohærentium;" or as our old honest and thoroughly German Michael Herr translated: "Es ist niemands so kindisch, der den Cerberus förcht, die Finsterniss und die todten Gespenst, da nichts dann die leidigen Bein an einander hangen"[76] ("No one is so childish as to fear Cerberus, darkness and dead spectres hanging together by nothing but bare bones"). How could a

[74] Apuleius, de Deo Socratis (p. 110, edit. Bas. per Hen. Petri): "Est et secundo signatu species dæmonum, animus humanus exutus et liber, stipendiis vitæ corpore suo abjuratis. Hunc vetere Latina lingua reperio Lemurem dictitatum. Ex hisce ergo Lemuribus, qui posterorum suorum curam sortitus, pacato et quieto numine domum possidet. Lar dicitur familiaris. Qui vero propter adversa vitæ merita, nullis bonis sedibus incerta vagatione, ceu quodam exilio punitur, inane terriculamentum bonis hominibus, cæterum noxium malis, hunc plerique Larvam perhibent. Cum vero incertum est quæ cuique sortitio evenerit, utrum Lar sit an Larva, nomine Manium deum nuncupant, et honoris gratia Dei vocabulum additum est."

[75] Epist. xxiv.

[76] Sittliche Zuchtbücher des hochberühmten Philosophen Seneca, Strasburg 1536, in folio. A later translator of Seneca, Conrad Fuchs (Frankfort 1620) renders the words "et Larvarum habitum nudis ossibus cohærentium" by "und der Todten gebeinichte Companey." Very elegant and mad!

skeleton, a framework, be more distinctly indicated, than by *nudis ossibus cohærens?* How could it be more emphatically expressed that the ancients were accustomed to conceive and to figure their haunting spirits as skeletons?

If such an observation affords a more natural explanation for misunderstood representations, this is unquestionably a new proof of their justice. Only a single skeleton on an ancient monument might certainly be Death if it had not been proved on other grounds that he was not so depicted. But how, when many such skeletons appear? May we say that, even as the poet knew various Deaths—

"Stant Furiæ circum, variæque ex ordine Mortes"

—so it must also be permitted to the artist to represent various forms of death as a separate Death? And if even then no sound sense can be made of such a composition consisting of various skeletons? I have referred above to a stone in Gori[77] on which three skeletons are to be seen; the one drives on a biga drawn by fierce animals, over another prostrate on the ground, and threatens to drive over a third that stands in its way. Gori calls this representation the triumph of Death over Death. Words without sense. But happily this gem is of bad workmanship and filled up with characters intended to pass for Greek, but which make no sense. Gori therefore pronounces it the work of a Gnostic, and people have taken leave from all time to lay as many absurdities as they do not care to explain to their account. Instead of seeing Death triumphing over himself, or over a few rivals envious of his dominion, I see nothing but departed souls, in the form of *Larvæ*, who still cling in the other life to those occupations which were so pleasant to them in this. That this was the case was a commonly received opinion with the ancients, and Virgil has not forgotten the love of racing among the examples he gives of this[78]

"——quæ gratia currûm
Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos."

[77] See above, p. 208. [78] Æneid, vi. v. 653.

Therefore nothing is more common on monuments and urns and sarcophagi than genii, who exercise—

"——aliquas artes, antiquæ irritamina vitæ,"

and in the very work of Gori, in which he adduces this gem, a marble occurs of which the gem might be almost called the caricature. The skeletons that on the gem drive and are driven over, are, on the marble, genii.

Now if the ancients did not conceive of the *Larvæ*, *i.e.* the departed souls of wicked men otherwise than as skeletons, then it was quite natural that finally every skeleton, even if it was only a work of art, should be called *Larva*. Hence *Larva* was also the name of that skeleton which appeared at solemn banquets, to stimulate a more hasty enjoyment of life. The passage in Petronius concerning such a skeleton is well known,[79] but the conclusion it might be sought to deduce, that it is a representation of Death, would be very precipitate. Because a skeleton reminded the ancients of Death, was a skeleton therefore the received image of Death? The saying which Trimalcus utters rather distinguishes expressly the skeleton and Death:

"Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus."

That does not mean, "This one will soon carry us off," "In this form Death will claim us," but "This is what we must all become, and skeletons we shall all be when Death has claimed us."

And thus I think that I have proved in all ways what I promised to prove. But I still wish to show that I have not taken this trouble only against Herr Klotz. To put Herr Klotz alone right might seem to most readers an equally

[79] "Potentibus ergo, et accuratissimas nobis lautitias mirantibus, larvam argenteam attulit servus sic aptatam, ut articuli ejus vertebræque laxatæ in omnem partem verterentur. Hanc quum super mensam semel iterumque abjecisset, et catenatio mobilis aliquot figuras exprimeret Trimalcio adjecit—

Heu, heu, nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est!
Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus.
Ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene."

(Edit. Mich. Hadr. p. 115.)

easy and useless occupation. It is something different if he has gone astray along with the whole flock. Then it is not the hindermost bleating sheep, but the flock that puts the shepherd or his dog in motion.

PROOF.

I WILL therefore glance at better scholars who, as I have said, share more or less in the erroneous imaginations of Herr Klotz, and will commence with a man who is all in all to Herr Klotz, his departed friend, Count Caylus. What lovely souls those must be who at once declare as their friend, one with whom they have exchanged a few compliments at the distance of a hundred miles! It is only a pity that we can just as easily become their enemy!

Among the subjects recommended to artists out of Homer, by Count Caylus, was that of Apollo delivering the purified and embalmed corpse of Sarpedon to Death and Sleep.[80]

The Count says: "It is only vexatious that Homer did not enter upon the attributes that were at his time accorded to Sleep. To designate this god, we only know his actions and we crown him with poppies. These ideas are modern, and the first, which is altogether of minor use, cannot be employed in the present instance, in which even flowers seem to me quite unsuitable, especially for a figure that is to group with Death."[81] I will not repeat here what I have said in the 'Laokoon,' concerning the want of taste of the Count who demands from Homer that he should deck the creatures of his mind with the attributes of the artists. I will only note here how little he himself knew these attributes, and how inexperienced he was in the actual representation of both Death and Sleep. As to the first it is incontrovertibly shown from his words that he believed Death could and must be represented as nothing else but a skeleton. He would not otherwise have observed complete silence concerning its figure, as

[80] Iliad. π. v. 681.

[81] Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, &c.

on a subject that was self-evident; still less would he have remarked that a figure crowned with flowers could not be well assorted with the figure of Death. This apprehension could only arise from the fact that he had never dreamed of the resemblance of the two figures, having pictured Death to himself as an ugly monster, and Sleep as a gentle genius. Had he known that Death was a like gentle genius, he would surely have reminded his artists of this, and could only have discussed with them, whether it be well to give these allied genii distinctive attributes and which would be the most becoming. But in the second place, he did not even know Sleep as he should have known him. It is rather too much ignorance to say, that except by his action he only indicates this deity by baleful poppies. He indeed justly notes that both these symbols are modern, but he not only does not say what were the old genuine symbols, but he also totally denies that such have been handed down to us. He therefore knew nothing of the horn which the poets so often ascribe to Sleep, and with which he was depicted according to the express testimony of Servius and Lutatius. He knew nothing of the reversed torch; he did not know that a figure with such a reversed torch was extant from ancient times, which was announced as Sleep, not by a mere conjecture, but by its own undoubted superscription. He had not found this figure either in Boissard, or Gruter, or Spanheim, or Beger, or Brouckhuysen,[82] and heard nothing of it in any quarter. Now let us imagine the Homeric picture, as he would have it with a Sleep, as if it was the awakened sleep of Algardi; with a Death, a very little more graceful than he bounds about in old German Death-Dances. What is ancient, Greek, Homeric in this? What is there that is not fanciful, Gothic, and French? Would not this picture of how Homer thought, according to Caylus, bear the same likeness to the original as Hudart's translation? Still it would only be the fault of the

[82] Brouckhuysen has incorporated it in his Tibullus from Spanheim, but Beger, as I should have noted above, p. 192, has made known the whole monument, out of which this single figure is taken. This he has done from the papers of Pighius in his Spicilegium Antiquitatis, p. 106. Beger as little refers to Spanheim. as Spanheim to Beger.

artist's adviser, if he became so offensively and romantically modern, whereas he might be so simple and suggestive, so graceful and great, in the true spirit of antiquity. How he should feel allured to put forth all his powers upon two such advantageous figures as winged genii, to make what is similar different, and what is different similar, alike in growth, form, and mien; yet as unlike in hue and flesh as the general tone of his colouring will allow. For according to Pausanias the one of these twins was black, the other white. I say, the one and the other, because it is not actually clear from the words of Pausanias, which was the white one and which the black. And though I should not marvel if an artist made the black one to be Death, yet I could not therefore assure him that he must be in unquestioned agreement with antiquity. Nonnus, at least, calls Sleep *μελανόχρουν*, when Venus shows herself inclined not to force such a black spouse upon the white Pasithea;[83] and it is quite possible that the ancient artists gave the white hue to Death, thus to indicate that he was not the more terrible Sleep of the two.

Truly, Caylus could learn little if at all better from the well-known iconological works of a Ripa, a Chartarius and however their copyists may be called.

Ripa,[84] it is true, knew the horn of Sleep, but how erroneously he decks him out in other respects! The shorter white tunic over a black dress which he and Chartarius[85] give to him, belongs to Dreams and not to Sleep. Ripa knew the passage in Pausanias concerning the resemblance of Death and Sleep, but without making the least use of this for his picture. He proposes three kinds, and none of these are such as a Greek or Roman would have recognised. Nevertheless only one of them, the invention of Camillo da Ferrara, is a skeleton; but I doubt whether Ripa means to say by this that it was this Camillo who first painted Death as a skeleton. I do not however know this Camillo.

Those who have made most use of Ripa and Chartarius are Giraldus and Natalis Comes.

[83] Lib. xxxiii. v. 40.

[84] Iconolog. p. 464, edit. Rom. 1603.

[85] Imag. Deorum, p. 143, Francof. 1687.

They copied the error about the white and black dress of Sleep from Giraldus,[86] and Giraldus can only have looked at a translation, instead of at Philostratus himself. For it is not Ὕπνος but Ὄνειρος, of whom Philostratus says:[87] ἐν ἀνειμένῳ τῷ εἴδει γέγραπται, καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἔχει λευκὴν ἐπὶ μελαίνῃ τὸ, οἶμαι, νύκτωρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν. It is incomprehensible to me how even the latest translator of Philostratus' works, Gottfried Olearius, who assures us that he has given us an almost wholly new rendering, could have been so extremely careless with these words. They run in Latin, with him as: "Ipse somnus remissa pietus est facie, candidamque super nigra vestem habet, eo, ut puto, quod nox sit ipsius, et quæ diem excipiunt."[87] What does this mean: "et quæ diem excipiunt"? Did Olearius not know that μεθ' ἡμέραν means "interdiu," and νύκτωρ "noctu"? It might be said in his defence that one grows weary of purging the old miserable translations. He should then at least not have desired to excuse or refute any one out of an untested translation. But as it further runs, "Cornu is (Somnus) manibus quoque tenet, ut qui insomnia per veram portam inducere solcat," he appends in a note: "Ex hoc vero Philostrati loco patet optimo jure portas illas somni dici posse, qui scilicet somnia per eas inducat, nec necesse esse ut apud Virgilium (Æneid. vi. v. 562) somni dictum intelligamus pro somnii, ut voluit Turnebus" (lib. iv. Advers. c. 14). But Philostratus himself does not speak of the portals of Sleep, Somni, but of Dreams, Somnii, and it is also Ονειρος, not Ὕπνος with him who admits dreams through the true gates. Consequently Virgil can still only be helped otherwise than by Turnebus's commentary, if he absolutely must coincide with Homer in his conception of these gates. Giraldus is entirely silent concerning the form of Death.

Natalis Comes gives to Death a black garment strewn with stars.[88] The black garment, as we saw above, is founded on Euripides, but who put the stars upon it I do not know. He has also dreams *contortis cruribus* and

[86] Hist. Deorum Syntag. ix. p. 311, edit. Jo. Jensii.
[87] Iconum, lib. i. 27. [88] Mythol. lib. iii. cap. 13.

assures us that Lucian made them roam about thus on his island of Sleep. But with Lucian they are mere shapeless dreams, ἄμορφοι, and the crooked legs are Natalis's own invention. Even according to him these crooked legs would not appertain to dreams in general as an allegorical distinction, but only to certain dreams.

To refer to other mythological compilers would scarcely repay the trouble. Banier alone may seem to merit an exception. But even Banier says nothing of the form of Death, and commits more than one inaccuracy respecting the form of Sleep.[89] For he too mistakes Dream for Sleep in this picture of Philostratus, and sees him there formed as a man, though he thinks that he can determine from the passage of Pausanias that he was represented as a child, and only as a child. He also copies a gross error from Montfaucon, which has been already condemned by Winckelmann and which should therefore have been familiar to his German translator.[90] Namely, both Montfaucon and Banier proclaim the Sleep of Algardi in the Villa Borghese as antique, and a new vase, that stands near it with various others, is declared to be a vessel filled with a somniferous potion, just because Montfaucon found it placed beside it on an engraving. This Sleep of Algardi itself, however exquisite the workmanship may be, is quite at variance with the simplicity and the dignity of the ancients. Its position and gesture are borrowed from the position and gesture of the sleeping Faun in the Palazzo Barberini, to which I have referred above.

Nowhere have I met with an author on this branch of knowledge, who has not either left the image of Death, as it existed amongst the ancients, totally undecided or has it incorrectly. Even those who were familiar with the monuments which I have named, or with others like them, have not therefore approached much nearer the truth.

Thus Tollius knew that various old marbles were extant, on which boys with reversed torches represented the eternal sleep of the dead.[91] But is this to recognise in one

[89] Erläuterung der Götterlehre, vol. iv. p. 147, German trans.
[90] Preface to Geschichte der Kunst, p. 15. [91] In notis ad Roudelli Expositionem, S. T. p. 292.

of them Death himself? Did he therefore comprehend that the deity of Death was never represented in another form by the ancients? It is a long step from the symbolical signs of an idea, to the well-defined establishment of this idea personified, and reverenced as an independent being.

Just the same may be said of Gori. Gori most expressly names two such winged boys on old sarcophagi "Genios Somnum et Mortem referentes,"[92] but this very "referentes" betrays him. And since at another place[93] he speaks of these as "Genii Mortem et Funus designantes"; since elsewhere, notwithstanding the meaning of Death which he grants to Buonarotti, he still sees in one a *Cupido*, since, as we have seen, he recognises the skeletons on old stones as *Mortes;* it is almost pretty well unquestionable that he was at least very undecided in himself concerning these matters.

The same holds good for Count Maffei. For although he held that the two winged boys with reversed torches seen on old monuments were meant for Sleep and Death, yet he declared such a boy, who stands on the well-known "Conclamation marble" in the Saloon of Antiquities at Paris, to be neither the one nor the other, but a genius, who shows by his reversed torch that the deceased person indicated died in the flower of youth, and that Amor and his kingdom mourn this death.[94] Even when Dom Martin bitterly controverted this first error, and incorporated the same marble in his Museum Veronese, he makes no attempt at its clearer identification, and leaves the figures on the 139th plate, which he could have used for this purpose, without any explanation.

But this Dom Martin scarcely deserved to be confuted. He would have the two genii with reversed torches found on ancient monuments and urns, to be held as the genii of the man and of his wife or for the united guardian spirits whom, according to some of the ancients, every one possessed.

He might and should have known, that at least one of

[92] Inscript. ant. quæ in Etruriæ urbibus exstant, parte iii. p. xciii.

[93] *Ibid.* p. lxxxi.

[94] Explic. de divers Monuments singuliers qui ont rapport à la Religion des plus anciens peuples, par le R. P. Dom **, p. 36.

these figures, in consequence of the express ancient superscription, must needs be Sleep, and just now I luckily hit upon a passage in Winckelmann in which he has already censured the ignorance of this Frenchman.

Winckelmann writes: "It occurs to me that another Frenchman, Martin, a man who could dare to say Grotius had not understood the Septuagint, announces with boldness and decision that the two genii on the ancient urns cannot be Sleep and Death, and yet the altar on which they figure in this sense with the antique superscription of Sleep and Death, is publicly exhibited in the courtyard of the Palazzo Albani." I ought to have recalled this passage above (p. 182), for Winckelmann here means the same marble which I have there adduced from his Essay on Allegory. What was not so clearly expressed there, is the clearer here; not only the one genius, but also the other, are by the ancient inscription literally designated, on this Albani monument, as what they are; namely Sleep and Death. How much I wish that I could set a final seal upon this investigation by this announcement!

Yet a word about Spence ere I close. Spence, who most positively desires to force upon us a skeleton as the antique image of Death, Spence opines, that the ordinary representations of Death among the ancients, could not well have been other than terrible and ghastly, because the ancients generally entertained far darker and sadder conceptions of his nature than we could now admit.[95]

Yet it is certain that that religion which first discovered to man that even natural death was the fruit and the wages of sin, must have infinitely increased the terrors of death. There have been sages who have held life to be a punishment, but to deem death a punishment, could not of itself have occurred to the brain of a man who only used his reason, without revelation.

From this point of view it would presumably be our religion which has banished the ancient cheerful image of Death out of the domains of art. Since however this religion did not wish to reveal this terrible truth to drive us to despair; since it too assures us that the death of the

[95] Polymetis, p. 262.

righteous cannot be other than gentle and restoring; I do not see what should prevent our artists from banishing the terrible skeletons, and again taking possession of that other better image. Even Scripture speaks of an angel of Death; and what artist would not rather mould an angel than a skeleton?

Only misunderstood religion can estrange us from beauty, and it is a token that religion is true, and rightly understood, if it everywhere leads us back to the beautiful.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED,
DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET S.E., AND GREAT WINDMILL STREET, W.